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ABSTRACT

This report is one of a series intended primarily for those engaged in or preparing for educational planning and administration (especially in developing countries) and for those government officials and civic leaders seeking a more general understanding of educational planning and its role in overall national development. This booklet discusses the extent and the characteristics of youth unemployment in developing countries. The author contends that unemployment among the educated is not the fault of education, but of the economy. As a solution, he proposes some economic reforms and expanded programs in vocational and out-of-school (nonformal) education. (RA)

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Fundamentals of educational planning

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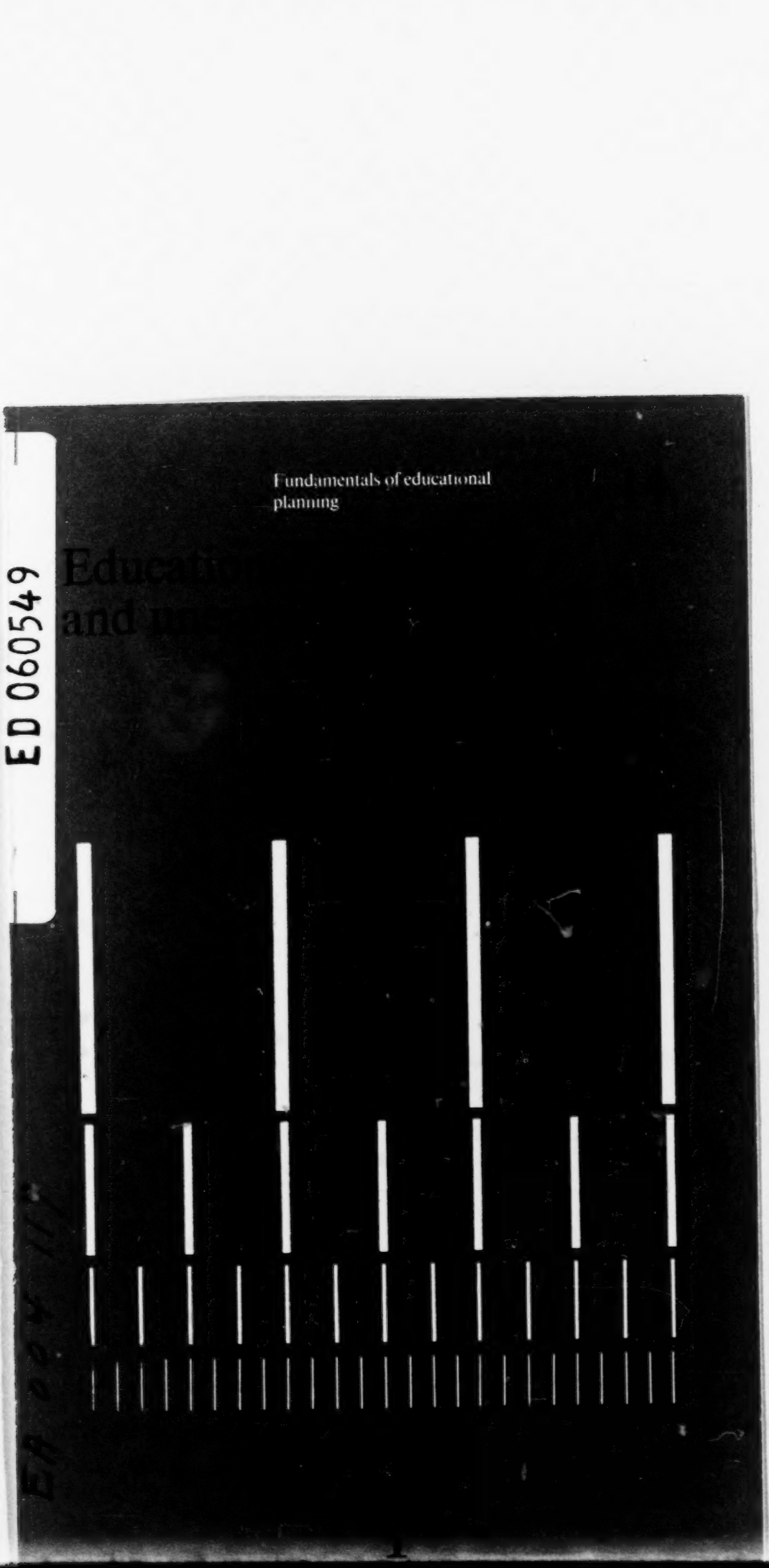

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Educational planning and unemployed youth

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Archibald Callaway

Paris 1971
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Fundamentals of educational planning

The booklets in this series are written primarily for two groups: those engaged in—or preparing for—educational planning and administration, especially in developing countries; and others, less specialized, such as senior government officials and civic leaders, who seek a more general understanding of educational planning and of how it can be of help to over-all national development. They are devised to be of use either for private study or in formal training programmes.

The modern conception of educational planning has attracted specialists from many disciplines. Each of them tends to see planning rather differently. The purpose of some of the booklets is to help these people explain their particular points of view to one another and to the younger men and women who are being trained to replace them some day. But behind this diversity there is a new and growing unity. Specialists and administrators in developing countries are coming to accept certain basic principles and practices that owe something to the separate disciplines but are yet a unique contribution to knowledge by a body of pioneers who have had to attack together educational problems more urgent and difficult than any the world had ever known. So other booklets in the series represent this common experience, and provide in short compass some of the best available ideas and experience concerning selected aspects of educational planning.

Since readers will vary so widely in their backgrounds, the authors have been given the difficult task of introducing their subjects from the beginning, explaining technical terms that may be commonplace to some but a mystery to others, and yet adhering to scholarly standards and never writing down to their readers, who, except in some particular speciality, are in no sense unsophisticated. This

approach has the advantage that it makes the booklets intelligible to the general reader.

Although the series, under the general editorship of Dr. C. E. Beeby of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in Wellington, has been planned on a definite pattern, no attempt has been made to avoid differences, or even contradictions, in the views expressed by the authors. It would be premature, in the Institute's view, to lay down a neat and tidy official doctrine in this new and rapidly evolving field of knowledge and practice. Thus, while the views are the responsibility of the authors, and may not always be shared by Unesco or the Institute, they are believed to warrant attention in the international market-place of ideas. In short, this seems the appropriate moment to make visible a cross-section of the opinions of authorities whose combined experience covers many disciplines and a high proportion of the countries of the world.

Foreword

Educational planning for manpower and the exploration of space have at least this in common—that both are shooting at moving targets. There, I regret to say, the resemblance ends; nothing could be more unkind than to compare the degrees of accuracy of their calculations. Strange as it may seem to the outsider, the educational planner has, in many ways, the harder task, quite apart from the fact that his budget is, by comparison, infinitesimal. He has only the vaguest idea of the trajectory of either his target or his 'missile' (if, even in metaphor, this is not too dynamic a term to apply to most school systems), and both are liable to change erratically with the swing of politics or the market. Ten years ago, when manpower theories were making their most direct impact on education, there was a tendency to assume that, if one could only find the right formula for forecasting manpower demands in a developing country, the educational planner with the help of 'mid-course corrections' should be able to get somewhere near the target. Those who did not manage to do so had a sense of guilt at failing the test.

In his booklet Archibald Callaway, with his long experience of juvenile unemployment in developing countries, changes the picture by insisting that the solution does not lie with education alone, or perhaps even primarily. 'Of first priority, then, are significant—or even drastic—modifications in the functioning of economies.' The economic planner, that is to say, must do his long-range planning with one eye on the growth of the GNP and the other on the effects of his plans on employment and unemployment, and, through them, on education; the adjustments among all these factors must be mutual. In this process the educational planner has a vital part to play, because he knows better than anyone else that a growing school system behaves

very differently in some ways from a growing industry. Schools are often extremely resistant to qualitative changes, and, even for quantitative expansion, the 'lead time' may be much longer than for, say, a set of factories; but an educational system, once it really starts to expand in a developing country starved of capital and of markets, can pour out graduates (of a kind) much faster than industry can create jobs to meet their expectations. A superfluous factory, moreover, can be closed down or converted to a new purpose, but rarely can a school be closed, for it arouses in parents and pupils a clamant demand for the *process* of education, however laggard the demand for its *products* and however irrelevant the training may be to the needs of the community. The phenomenon of the educated unemployed springs from something more complex than a mistake in arithmetic.

There is probably no one in the world more competent than Professor Callaway to attack this problem. He is an economist, a graduate of Cambridge, Oxford, and Harvard Universities. He first undertook research in Africa as a member of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. For the past eleven years his base has been the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, where he began exploring unemployment among school leavers. This led to extensive socio-economic research into related issues of education of young people against widely differing backgrounds in town and country. He has been consultant to a number of inter-governmental conferences on youth employment, organized by the United Nations, International Labour Office, the Economic Commission for Africa, and the Commonwealth Secretariat, which have brought him into close association with similar problems in Asia, Latin America and other parts of Africa. He has also done studies and teaching for the IIEP. During the last three years in Nigeria he was research professor at the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. Since late in 1970 he has been at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, assisted by the Bernard van Leer Foundation. He is author for IIEP (with A. Musone) of *Financing of Education in Nigeria* (1968), and, besides his reports on his field work, he has contributed to books and scholarly journals a large number of chapters and articles on topics related to the subject of this booklet. As a fellow-countryman, I cannot forbear to add that Archibald Callaway is a New Zealander.

C. E. BEEBY
General editor of the series

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Part One

Unemployment among educated youth

1. The problem in outline

Within many low-income nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, attention is being focused on widespread and growing unemployment among young people. Most of them who are seeking jobs have attended schools for varying lengths of time (some, indeed, have university degrees), but they cannot find work which matches their aspirations or their potential abilities. Largely a phenomenon of the last decade, this type of open unemployment has tended to be cumulative; each year the numbers of uncommitted youth have grown. Thousands of unemployed have increased to tens of thousands—in some countries, to hundreds of thousands.

Among economists, recognition has now come that concentration on raising growth rates of *per capita* income is not enough; development designs for the 1970s must also include strategies for creating productive work for the vast numbers of unemployed and underemployed. For those concerned with education, a similar turning-point in ideas has occurred. The continued expansion of formal education along existing lines is no longer considered adequate. Questions are being asked: how can education systems be geared more closely to economic and social realities? In particular, what types of education have a more direct effect on generating employment on a wide scale?

Richer nations in recent years have also had to contend with unemployed youth, but the relative magnitude of their problem has been much less and, in any case, all types of unemployment can be dealt with more readily in the context of resilient industrial economies. One special difficulty has arisen with school drop-outs, youth from

deprived backgrounds and often from minority ethnic groups, with low motivation and insufficient preparation for jobs in the modern economy. Programmes have been worked out to give special training to such youth geared to specific employment outlets. At the same time, the causes of poor educational achievement are being tackled by giving disadvantaged children special opportunities when very young and thus improving their chances for success when they reach normal school age.

In the less developed nations, the problem of unemployment is different, more complex, more critical in the high proportions of youth involved. While economies have been growing at fairly high rates, they have not been developing in directions which open up anywhere near enough job opportunities to absorb the large numbers of educated young people arriving each year to join the labour force.

Compounding the problem has been the dramatic acceleration in population growth. Over the past two decades the wider dissemination of modern health education and services has reduced infant mortality and prolonged the life-span of adults; in only a few countries has a compensating attempt been made to lower the birth-rate. The strain of sheer numbers against the developing economies can be seen not only in the rising numbers of unemployed but also in the tightening land supply and increasing poverty in some rural areas, the worsening slum conditions in cities, jammed urban transport systems, overcrowded hospitals and child-care clinics, and the inability of governments to meet the popular demand for more schools and universities.

In many countries the rapid extension of formal education has itself been a significant factor in the growth of youth unemployment. This vigorous expansion took place in line with the generally held belief that massive increases in education would help to generate economic growth. Gradually it became revealed that large numbers of young people completing different stages of schooling were not finding work that represented a reasonable pay-off for the years spent in classrooms. In tropical Africa, for example, by the early 1960s, primary-school leavers were unable to secure the kind of jobs they hoped for; now in some countries secondary-school leavers experience similar conditions. In India, for some years, the problem of settling university graduates has been of major urgency—a fact which tends to obscure the adjustment problem being met by those who leave the education system at earlier stages. While some countries of Latin

America have difficulties of landless peasants without jobs, in most countries the great numbers of unemployed are educated youth or those partly educated. Throughout the developing world, governments have become alert to the increasingly apparent situation of a major imbalance between expanding systems of education and malfunctioning economies.

This situation is described as 'open unemployment among school leavers', 'graduates without jobs', or 'surplus youth'. What meaning do these phrases have for educational planners? Can unemployment of educated youth be solved (or partly solved) by cutting back education at the appropriate levels and thus not producing 'surpluses'? Or is this condition the result, as is sometimes claimed, of the 'wrong' kinds of education—for example, too much rote learning of dead facts rather than learning, say, rural skills? Or will the employment problem solve itself in the long term without the taking of any specific action?

It is sometimes maintained that there can never be an over-supply of educated youth. Obviously a society is better off the more people it has who can read and write and who have learned more advanced ways of doing things. For the nation, the educated young are potential agents for modernization. For the individual, education usually means greater choice in occupation and the possibility of a richer cultural life. This argument cannot easily be sustained, however, when considering the optimum management of the nation's scarce resources for development. Education is expensive and the more a nation spends on its schools and universities, the less it has for building roads and dams, putting up factories, and improving agriculture. Part of the reason why employment opportunities are lacking may well be that the resources which could create more jobs have been pre-empted for education. Again, no longer is it assumed that education (even the 'right' kind of education) by itself creates economic growth. Now it is more fully recognized that the greater the investment in the formal education of a person, the greater the requirements of complementary investment in other factors to get the school leaver (or university graduate) started in a productive vocation—and this means financial capital, whether from public or private sources.

For the educational planner, then, questions of resource use become even more vital against the background of mounting unemployment among educated youth. How high a proportion of national resources should reasonably be spent on education? Are the priorities within education consistent with national interests? How can the existing

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programmes be operated with greater efficiency? Also significant is the relevance of classroom education to the society in which pupils will build their careers; modifications in expensive formal education may be called for. And, too, there may now be required greater emphasis on out-of-school education more closely attuned to the economic scene: farm extension, on-the-job training, functional literacy programmes.

While certain principles can be discerned relating the problem of youth unemployment to educational planning, there is clearly no blueprint that can assist all countries. The magnitude and distinctive kinds of unemployment differ in each country according to the level and pace of the individual economy, the rate of population growth in relation to resources, the historical development of the educational system, the particular social and political framework. Planners in each country will have to examine their own unique situation. By identifying the employment problem, analysing its relation to the education system and the economy, they can determine policy options. The problem can be alleviated only from within.

2. Its extent and characteristics

In most developing countries the educated young account for half to three-quarters, at least, of those openly unemployed. Evidence of the growing numbers of these jobless young people may be gleaned from various sources: statements by responsible policy makers, labour exchanges vastly overcrowded with young registrants, employers requiring higher qualifications for many jobs. Even the number of experimental programmes launched in recent years to provide work and training for young people tells not so much about successful solutions as it does about the feeling of urgency for taking action.

While the problem is widely recognized, statistical assessments of the extent of unemployment among educated youth (and, even more so, of the under-utilization of human resources generally) are difficult to achieve. For example, those school leavers who remain in villages and rural towns are often only partly committed to work, justifying their living costs by helping at peak periods of the year on the family farm or in a local workshop. Quoted numbers normally refer only to the openly unemployed in urban areas. These recorded statistics do not reveal the difficulties of (a) those who are employed part-time, usually as a means of helping to pay for personal living

costs, while they seek work with better prospects, (b) those fully employed but below their present capabilities and with little chance of developing their talents later, and (c) those insecurely employed. Also, girls and young women, who have attended schools and are without jobs, are sometimes not recorded as unemployed unless they have additional specific qualifications: for example, as teachers, nurses, secretaries.

For policy purposes it is important that each country should know more about the numbers and also the characteristics of these job-seeking young people: ages and education, positions in families, background and living conditions, migratory movements, aspirations, periods unemployed; as well as incidence of unemployment in different parts of the country.

Although the evidence is fragmentary and not immediately comparable among countries, the following examples provide indications of the problem. In Jamaica, 39 per cent of those classified as openly unemployed are aged 15 to 19; this represents 43 per cent of the total of this age group, of whom half have never had a job. Ceylon, in 1966, had a total of nearly half a million unemployed of whom 35 per cent were aged from 14 to 18, 43 per cent from 19 to 25, and the remaining 22 per cent over 25. In Malaysia, 50 per cent of the 15 to 19 age group are known to be unemployed, while the unemployment rate of those aged 15 to 24 is twice that for the labour force as a whole. Records from Guyana show 44 per cent of the urban unemployed as being in the 14 to 19 age group. Of the half-million openly unemployed in Nigeria in 1966, over three-quarters were between the ages of 15 and 25, with a median age of 19: almost all these young people were school leavers. Colombia has one in four young people (15 to 24 years old) openly unemployed, this including both males and females. In the Philippines, in 1965, the young age group (14 to 24) formed 65 per cent of the total unemployed in urban areas; among this group was a high proportion of educated girls and young women. In India, the Education Commission estimated that there are about one million educated unemployed young people, including a high proportion of matriculates. Graduates of arts, law, and commerce in the United Arab Republic are unable to find jobs that suit their specialities.

In most developing countries, out of every 1,000 who reach a standard of permanent literacy in primary schools, only 10 to 20 per cent go on to secondary schooling, so that at the end of the primary stage 800 to 900 seek work. Those who come from rural areas and

farming families often reject the occupations of their parents. They feel (and their families usually support them) that their schooling has fitted them for tasks with better prospects. Many migrate to stay with relatives in towns and cities and hope that with persistence they will get wage-paid jobs. They are now able to read and write in the national language, to deal with numbers of a reasonable complexity, but they have no particular vocational skills to offer an employer. Many of them hope to find an attachment which gives them training on the job and develops their potential skills. But very few jobs are available and competition is intense. And so many remain without work for long periods.

How do the employment difficulties of these school leavers differ from those who never went to school at all? Those without formal schooling usually follow the occupations of their parents or relatives and learn on the job from an early age. Their world is thus circumscribed, their possibilities for choice are limited, and for the most part they lack the confidence to search for jobs in the modernizing economy. In most cases they have few hopes of breaking away from the certainty of a lifetime of poverty.

School leavers, on the other hand, have acquired aspirations as a result of formal education and their unemployment lies within the gap between these aspirations and the facts of the economic environment. Nor is it only the ambitions of school leavers themselves; there are also the hopes of parents and relatives who have usually denied themselves other forms of expenditure in order to promote their children's education and to prepare them for a better way of making a living.

The school leavers' employment problem may be explained in terms of a simple model: the rate at which young people leave the educational system continually outpaces the capacity of the modernizing economy to provide productive jobs at an acceptable money return, actual or prospective.

While in most developing countries primary-school leavers and drop-outs from the early years of secondary schools make up the great bulk of the unemployed, increasingly, secondary-school graduates are noted among the jobless—a situation familiar for some years in Asia and becoming more evident in Africa and in Latin America. In a few countries, graduates from universities now have to make a prolonged effort—sometimes up to two or three years—to get jobs which seem to them to match their qualifications. The indications for

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the years ahead are that graduates will have to accept jobs with lesser starting-salaries and slower chances for promotion, and that secondary-school leavers, too, will need to lower their expectations.

To complete the educational picture, there are the highly-educated: those with advanced degrees in various professions, who in recent years have been leaving their home countries in greater numbers for economically advanced countries where they find positions with better salaries and more favourable conditions of work and living. While these medical doctors and 'Ph.D.s' are very few in proportion to the total numbers seeking jobs, their migration makes a particularly poignant comment on the difficulties many developing countries have in harnessing their educational progress to national economic and social development.

The employment problems of the educated, then, appear to run the whole length of the educational system's outputs with clusters at different levels and of varying types for different countries. The incidence and intensity of unemployment vary according to the facilities for education, and also depend, in some measure, on varied cultural settings—on the strength of family life and the continuity of family association between rural and urban areas. But though these variations do exist, there is nevertheless one element constant: the educational systems are not sufficiently in harmony with the ability of the economies to absorb educated youth in productive work. So education is still far from making the contribution that it could make to development.

It has been said that unemployment of young educated people is not so serious, that in time they will find something to do. But, for the following reasons, the condition of widespread youth unemployment must be considered of critical importance.

1. The numbers of educated young people without jobs are already considerable and are continuing to grow. The condition is not correcting itself, and, in fact, in the immediate future is likely to grow worse.
2. Such unemployment has a high social and economic cost. Those not working reduce the standard of living and the potential savings of family members who are. And for the nation, heavy expenditures of scarce public resources (as well as private funds) have been devoted to the education of these young people. When development is urgently being sought, unemployment means a tragic waste of human resources.

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3. Given that the distribution of income and property is unequal in most developing nations, unemployment of this magnitude accentuates these inequalities by pressing down the wages and earnings of the self-employed. The situation within countries thus tends to polarize: 'The rich get richer, while the poor get poorer.'
4. Too great an exodus of educated youth from rural areas can lower farm production and retard agricultural modernization. So long as rural areas are depressed, there is a powerful stimulus for young people to go to cities. Since cities and towns cannot absorb them into meaningful employment, education merely converts the underemployment of the countryside to the open unemployment of the cities.
5. Too rapid an influx into cities brings strain on municipal water supplies, sanitation, transport systems, community health services, housing—sometimes leading to urban squalor and shanty towns. Governments are then pressed to provide vast expenditures on amenities, which may further widen the contrast between rural and urban development. At present many cities are growing in population by 6, 8, and even 10 per cent net each year.
6. When unemployment stretches over a long period with consequent insecurity, there follows the threat of increasing juvenile delinquency and crime, physical ill-health, mental disturbance, and resort to drugs. If the society becomes more and more divided into those who enjoy the conspicuous comforts of modern living and those who are excluded, large numbers of youthful unemployed present a distinct threat to national stability, and thus risk the success of programmes for national economic development.

3. Accelerated growth of populations

The most powerful single factor behind this massive youth unemployment has been the sharp rise in rates of population growth. A United Nations report in 1951 projected the population growth of Africa and Asia between 1950 and 1980 at an annual rate between 0.7 and 1.3 per cent. This estimate, of course, proved far too low. What was not predicted was the sharp reduction in mortality through widespread control of such epidemic diseases as malaria, smallpox and typhoid. Throughout the 1950s, in fact, the rate of population growth in the developing countries increased steadily until, in the mid-1960s, it levelled off

at an average of 2.5 per cent. In contrast, the average annual rate at present for industrialized countries is not much above 1 per cent.

The employment problem being met today thus marks the beginning of the period when the greater numbers both of young people who were born during the 1950s and also of those who, for the reasons given above, survived because of the reduction in infant mortality, are reaching the labour market. Population policies, now being adopted by some nations, ultimately may have pronounced effects in reducing such high birth-rates; but those who will make up the annual influx to the labour forces during the 1970s and into the middle of the 1980s have already been born. Thus, even if economies grow at optimum rates and policies are realigned to emphasize job creation, the problem of unemployment is still likely to be one of long duration.

Where an annual increase of 2.5 per cent is maintained, the population will double every twenty-eight years, and the entrants to the labour force, after the appropriate interval, will also double. With an annual increase of 3 per cent (as in several countries of Latin America), the time span is shortened to twenty-three years.

With such high rates of population growth, there are high proportions of children in the total populations. Frequently between 40 and 50 per cent are below the age of 15, with consequent dependence on adult workers for food, clothing, shelter, health, education, and so on. In proportion to their populations, the developing countries have twice as many young people under the age of 15 as do the nations of Western Europe and North America.

4. Rapid expansion of formal education

The vast educational expansion during the past two decades took place within a world-wide movement stressing the role of education in the process of economic and social development. Free and universal education became accepted, in principle, as a basic human right. Although underway by the end of the 1950s, the enthusiasm for promoting education was heightened by the series of Unesco conferences held in the early 1960s; by the Charter of Punta del Este (signed in 1961); and by a medley of individual national conferences and commissions.

During the period from 1950 to 1965 enrolments at the three main levels of educational systems in the developing countries nearly

tripled. The push began at the primary level where enrolments grew from 57 million to 137 million during the fifteen years. Then with increased numbers coming to the secondary level, the demand for expansion there raised enrolments from 1.5 million pupils in 1950 to 5.8 million in 1965. During the same period, students in post-secondary schools and universities increased from 1 million to 3.5 million.

TABLE 1. Average annual rate of growth in primary and secondary school enrolments, 1950-65

	Primary	Secondary[1]
Developing countries	6.8	9.0
Africa	7.8	9.4
South Asia	7.0	7.5
East Asia	4.8	11.7
Middle East	8.5	13.4
Latin America	5.4	9.6
Southern Europe	3.0	8.1
Industrialized countries	1.8	6.0

1. Total enrolment in middle-level general, technical, and teacher-training institutions
SOURCE: Unesco

There is still a long distance to go towards universal primary education. Today in Africa only some 40 per cent of school-age children attend schools; in Asia, 50 to 60 per cent; in Latin America, 50 to 60 per cent. This means that about half the children in these developing areas do not have the opportunities to enter classrooms and are not likely to get any formal education at all.

Under these circumstances, educational planners are confronted with decisions about who should go to school. Principles of equity and efficiency often conflict. Thus, where an area has a long history of formal education, there may be strong demands for more schools, while another area has very few children in school and no desire to change from its traditional ways. Where should the new schools be placed? There are often inequalities, too, between rural and urban areas, not only in the school facilities available but in the quality of the education imparted.

It is becoming familiar now to criticize the earlier whole-hearted

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drive that led to such vigorous expansion, but the achievements should be noted. Millions of children throughout the developing world entered schools as the first representatives of their families to learn reading and writing after untold generations lacking such competence. At the same time, universities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have turned out doctors, scientists, engineers, lawyers, social scientists. Many countries have been able to replace, or largely replace, the high proportions of administrators and other high-level staff from abroad with their own nationals (and, in some cases, are now exporting professional skills). Vast numbers of teachers have been trained. In general, the greater numbers of educated people permeate whole societies with a heightened readiness to take on development tasks.

The period of unprecedented educational expansion did bring with it difficulties—some predicted, others not adequately foreseen. In many countries, the sharp rise in educational costs went far beyond the figures estimated and, in some cases, fees had to be re-introduced after being abolished, and other cuts had to be made. On average, the share of national budgets now being devoted to education amounts to 16 per cent. Over a dozen countries allocate as high as 25 per cent of their government expenditure to education. Between 1960 and 1965 the annual rate of growth of educational expenditure was 13 per cent in Asia, 16 per cent in Africa, and over 20 per cent in Latin America. When private and local government expenditures are added to central government outlay, then the amount developing countries are spending on education comes to around 4 per cent of their national income. This throws a severe strain on limited national resources.

Another serious result of such rapid expansion was, in many countries, a drastic fall in the quality of education. Criticisms were levelled that children completing the new primary schools were not even reaching a level of permanent literacy. There were many reasons contributing to such disappointing results—overcrowding in schools with as many as fifty pupils in a class, poor supervision of teachers, lack of textbooks and other materials; but the main reason was the shortage of trained teachers. Training colleges were unable to keep up with the demand, and so untrained teachers were brought into schools. Now in many countries a period of consolidation is taking place with emphasis on upgrading the abilities of teachers, improving school administration, and providing essential basic materials; an effort is being made to improve standards on a variety of fronts.

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Inefficiencies have been revealed. Perhaps the most awkward one now confronting educational administrators is the high number of drop-outs. Children start school and then after a few years fade away. In developing countries as a whole, only thirty children out of an initial hundred stay the course and complete primary schooling. This represents an enormous waste of financial resources with little, if any, benefit to the children so briefly exposed to numbers and letters. In some places the early years of schooling are free, with progressive fees being introduced at later stages; here children of poor parents are unable to continue. In other places parents do not value formal education highly, or are not aware of the need for sustained schooling through the complete first phase; children are entered and then withdrawn as soon as they are strong enough, or grown-up enough, to help with adult occupations. Whatever the causes (and there are many local variations), such a high proportion of drop-outs urgently requires investigation and something must be done to prevent the financial waste and the human problems which it presents.

Priorities have been questioned in many countries. Where concentrated resources, both financial and administrative, went into the huge enlargement of primary schooling, often the neglected sector turned out to be technical education at the secondary and post-secondary levels. In some countries, criticisms have been made that universities were established at luxury standards as symbols of national prestige, thus committing large sums immediately for capital expenditure, and in the future for the recurrent funds necessary to run the institutions.

The most generally noted shortage throughout the developing world has been that of intermediate skills—medical technicians, nurses, agricultural assistants—the auxiliaries needed in so many fields to carry through directives from professionals. In some countries, there is a lack of educational institutions to train this range of middle-level skills. In other countries, the shortage results not from lack of training facilities but from the wide discrepancy between income incentives; students compete to gain the extra years of higher professional training because their life earnings might thereby be as much as ten times as high. Here the problem is not one of educational planning but of incomes policy.

By far the most serious problem, however, has been the emergence of widespread unemployment among school leavers and even, in some countries, of university graduates. It might be argued that this

lack of jobs has more to do with the malfunctioning of economies than with an unbalanced enlargement of education. The question might then be asked: why are there not more jobs available for young people who complete the different levels of education?

5. Economic growth but few jobs

Developing countries reveal wide diversity in demographic conditions, available natural resources, and economic performances. Populations range in size from India with 530 million, through Nigeria with 67 million, to Jamaica with 2 million. In some countries, settlement of families on cultivable land is intense; in others, sparse. Countries such as Malta, Hong Kong, Singapore, and most of the Caribbean islands, have limited rural hinterlands. Foreign trade is a vital generator of activity in most, but not all, economies. The extent and pace of industrial progress varies and so, too, does the range of improvement in production and living arrangements in the countryside. Some nations have experienced administrators; others have drastic shortages of trained manpower. Illiteracy is much more prevalent in some countries than in others. Some nations have shared more fully in the accelerated schooling and university education of recent years. Nations also have their own values, religions, deriving from unique historical circumstances, which contribute towards guiding the style of development.

Yet within this diversity there are common elements. Average incomes per person are relatively low when compared with those in today's industrialized countries. At this stage of progress, the relatively few high-productivity, high-wage establishments stand out markedly against the background of the many low-productivity, low-income family farms and other small-scale enterprises. The typical economic unit is still the modest family farm, and along with it, the stall in the market, the small transport business, the craft or small industrial workshop.

During the period since 1950 annual rates of economic growth among developing countries have averaged around 4.5 per cent, but with populations increasing at the high rate of 2.5 per cent, the rise in income per person has been held down correspondingly. This economic performance compares well with rates of growth achieved by industrialized countries during the same period; however,

population increase in these countries was not much above 1 per cent and thus the increase in *per capita* income has been higher.

In the last two decades, then, substantial progress has been made in improving the infrastructure of developing countries—road systems, electricity supplies, communications, public health. Some countries have come a long way in establishing industries; others have been able to make only modest beginnings. Considerable experimentation has taken place to improve agriculture, and in some areas results have been particularly successful. In others, at least the obstacles have now been more accurately defined. In short, much headway has been made.

Even so, high population increases have combined with local economic and social conditions to bring about an employment problem in the countryside and in the cities that increasingly threatens plans for development. Rising numbers within the labour forces cannot find sufficient productive work to keep themselves fully occupied (the underemployed) while those openly unemployed, especially youth, remain for prolonged periods without work.

The diverse economic conditions in relation to employment difficulties can be grouped into three main categories.

1. Countries with sufficient land and with adequate bases for food supplies with existing technologies. This applies to much of Africa, where scarcities in advanced skills often exist alongside large numbers of urban educated unemployed.
2. Countries with shortages of fertile land relative to rising populations. This includes Pakistan, India, and wide areas of south-east Asia, where rural underemployment and urban unemployment have both become serious in recent years.
3. Countries with sufficient land, relatively high rates of economic growth, but with marked extremes in income distribution associated with control of land and industry by the few. This refers to much of Latin America, where high rates of open unemployment exist in the cities despite considerable under-utilization of land.

Why has economic growth not opened up profitable job opportunities on a wider scale? The answer can be found in the nature of the development process. Labour absorption of major modern and semi-modern establishments is limited: in the civil service, large industries, the principal commercial and transport enterprises. Governments usually account for as many as 40 per cent of all wage-paid jobs, but the rate of recruitment of new junior staff—set by the

tasks ahead, the restraints of the budget, the rate of retirement, and the replacement of foreign staff—is slow relative to the number of youthful applicants.

While headway has been made in setting up new industries, the number of workers employed is still proportionately low. Large industry is usually capital-intensive and in developing countries does not normally account for the employment of more than 5 to 8 per cent of the gainfully-employed labour force. Moreover, as output rises, a less than proportionate increase in wage-paid jobs takes place, because of the use of advanced labour-saving technology and improvements in organization.

Let us assume that 5 per cent of the labour force works within modern industrial units and that the output of these industries expands by 10 per cent each year. The requirements for more wage-paid industrial employees are likely to rise at about half this rate, namely 5 per cent. This means that the annual increase in employment would be only one-quarter of 1 per cent of the total labour force. And a consistent annual rise of 10 per cent in industrial output is greater than many developing countries experience. Large capital-intensive industry thus cannot be expected to become a substantial absorber of labour for a long period ahead—possibly decades.

The second-order (or linkage) effects of large industries, such as the fostering of service enterprises and small-scale manufacturing units (for example, supplying subsidiary parts) are often not pronounced because of lack of necessary alert and experienced local entrepreneurs.

Again, so far as rising agricultural output is achieved through labour-saving technology, the same principle holds as for industry—a less than proportionate gain in jobs. And so long as the rural areas suffer from their characteristic malaise and do not provide work with future prospects on or off the farms, many young people—particularly those who have attended schools—will continue to migrate to try their fortune in the cities.

Besides the high capital intensity of much new investment, a further cause of unemployment is the urban-rural imbalance occurring everywhere in development and, with it, the widening division between average incomes and average living conditions of those who are working in urban and rural areas. This does not mean that all family incomes in cities are uniformly high while those in villages are all extremely low but only that those in cities fortunate enough to have steady jobs usually gain substantially higher rewards than those

who have jobs or who are self-employed in rural areas. Trade-union strength contributes to the upward pressure of money wage rates in the cities greatly out of proportion to rates of return on farms and in family enterprises in villages. A side effect of this upward move of money wages is to encourage modern and semi-modern firms to substitute capital for labour wherever technically and economically feasible, thereby eliminating jobs that would otherwise be available.

In the distribution of amenities, cities are favoured all down the line: more and better education facilities, hospitals, and health services; cleaner and more regular water supplies; more modern and better-maintained market stalls, bridges, roads. New industries are almost invariably clustered near or in cities. This bias supporting urban to the disadvantage of rural areas is often set in motion by powerful political lobbies, especially articulate and well-placed in the cities.

Such over-emphasis on urban development attracts a dynamic movement of population from the countryside much greater than the requirements for labour and eventually greater than the capacities of cities to provide even minimum living conditions. Today in many cities of the developing world vast numbers of people live in poverty more stark than the subsistence conditions in rural areas where some support may come from family ties and claims on land.

In some nations obstacles to migration present a further cause of unemployment among educated youth. Failure to remove political, ethnic, and religious barriers results in youth with surplus skills in one area being unable to move freely to another area where there is a deficit of such skills. Instances occur in which an apparent excess of secondary-school leavers or university graduates are unemployed in one place while, in another, such skills are needed—in school teaching, or within government, industrial, or commercial services.

Again, relative rewards for work are often extreme in the differences between lowest and highest, and they are also unrelated to national requirements. The situation is familiar in which primary, secondary (including technical institutes), and university graduates receive beginning incomes in the ratio of 10, 180, and 700. In many instances, the incomes pegged for different levels and types of education between the public and private sectors, or within either of them, are inconsistent with one another. When the step down to the next wage level is considerable, young people, understandably, will hold out to get the higher return and in the meantime remain unemployed.

In previous strategies for development the possibilities of raising

labour utilization have hardly been considered seriously. Rather than being an essential objective, the provision of employment is usually regarded as a by-product of development. Or it is thought of as a social investment (to relieve the worst cases of poverty or to get jobless youth off the streets), yet as being at the same time in conflict with efficiency in achieving the highest national output. It would appear, contrary to expectations, that the greater the progress made in improving the economy (at least for several countries), the greater the incidence of underemployment and of open unemployment. For example, mass production in large factories requiring relatively few employees has often meant reduced demand for the products of crafts and small-scale industries situated in rural towns as well as in cities. Underemployment is thereby increased and along with it goes a reduction in the number of apprentice places for boys and girls to learn a trade. Again, the more wage-paid jobs created, particularly through the establishment of new urban-based industries, the greater is the move to the cities by educated youth to compete for these opportunities—and the higher the numbers of openly unemployed.

Part Two

Approaches to solutions

6. Take no action

Because the causes of unemployment are interwoven in complex ways and vary in different countries, the solutions will need to be designed according to national and local situations. The view is sometimes put forward, however, that *nothing* should be done, that in the long run the problem of jobless educated youth will solve itself. This is argued particularly by those not close to the anxieties of the scene. They say that the aspirations of school leavers are out of alignment with employment opportunities and that, given time and the encounter with realities, these young people will revise their expectations and establish themselves with less-preferred employers or settle within modest, probably rural, family enterprises.

True, some time must elapse for educated youth to adjust to available jobs and for new jobs to be self-created. Evidence shows, however, that this type of unemployment is not self-correcting and that the numbers of jobless become greater each year. In evident frustration, many young people do take up work which does not represent a reasonable pay-off from their own or from the national point of view in terms of resources spent on their education.

A variant of this view is that school leavers are often too young, too lazy, or too inexperienced. Such an opinion may have merit in particular circumstances but it can be demonstrated from practical experience that most educated young people from diverse family backgrounds and cultures, when provided with suitable training and work opportunities, do work hard to win their way forward according to their innate talents.

Related to this are the despairing cries: 'School leavers don't

want to work with their hands', and 'They want white-collar jobs'. Naturally enough, school leavers want the best return they can get and so long as the pay of a clerk is several times greater than that of a labourer on a building site, they will persist in their efforts to become clerks. And if a working life on the family farm or within other village occupations holds out poor prospects, they will shun it. It is no use telling school leavers to 'go back to the land' when opportunities, even modest ones, do not exist.

Again, it is maintained that only in the long term can economic growth provide a wide array of employment opportunities. The 'best' course towards maximum economic growth requires the use of the most efficient methods available. This means, for the present, the use of highly capital-intensive, advanced technologies—which are accompanied by relatively few wage-paid jobs. This is an overly-simple view of the development process, which, in fact, requires widely different methods of production of goods and services. The economies of scale are by no means always on the side of the large capital-intensive economic unit, industrial or agricultural.

Lastly, it is contended that the more a government tries to do to solve unemployment among educated youth, the more it is required to do: the more jobs created, the greater the numbers of hopeful young people to appear on the scene. Such a situation holds true when major developments are confined to cities but not when efforts are made to balance urban development with improvements in rural work opportunities and living conditions.

The 'do nothing' argument cannot be maintained, then, in the face of present urgencies. It is evident that immediate, far-reaching action on many fronts is essential.

7. Reform the economy

Finding suitable work for educated youth is part of the wider concern for the existing unemployed and underemployed: youth and adults, male and female, the educated and those without any formal education, in both urban and rural areas. Unemployment among educated youth thus brings into focus the widespread underemployment, characterized by extremely low economic productivity of much of the labour force—in farming, petty trading, small workshops. At present, 25 to 30 per cent of the labour forces of most developing countries are under-utilized. For the 1970s no economic issue is more critical than this:

the more productive involvement of more eligible people within the processes of development.

Social and economic objectives are clearly defined by most developing countries as the reduction of poverty—the provision, as soon as possible, of acceptable standards of food, health, housing, education, and opportunities for work at decent rewards. In the meantime, immense numbers of potential workers cannot contribute their abilities, not only because jobs do not exist but also because they are poor. They suffer from malnutrition and endemic diseases. Their housing conditions are bleak. Their outlook on the world around them, and the outlook of children dependent upon them, suffer accordingly. The assault on poverty must come simultaneously from many directions. Ultimately, the only effective way to redistribute income and to reduce the wide, unacceptable disparity in living conditions between the few rich and the many poor is to provide more opportunities for employment.

Generating significantly more jobs—and creating a milieu in which further meaningful employment can be self-created—depends on measures taken throughout the economy. Manpower policy and practices will have to be concerned not only with the provision of higher-level skills but also with the productive employment of the maximum possible numbers. Strategies for greater labour intensity consistent with rising output of goods and services must become of central importance to leaders at national and local levels. Policy-makers and administrators—including politicians, civil servants, private employers, trade union leaders, and heads of farmers' associations, producers' and marketing co-operatives and voluntary organizations—all will need to extend and co-ordinate their efforts in this direction. And information about programmes and progress needs to be fully conveyed to all reaches of the society.

Because of the heavy dependence of most developing countries on international economic relationships, efforts must be continued to ensure that the balance of international trade and payments reflects the best interests of the economy through suitable exchange rates, exports that are truly competitive, and imports guided by the urgent needs of local production and consumption. Foreign trade, aid, and domestic investment will have to be kept in harmony. Donors of external aid and providers of low-interest international loans will need to be persuaded that their arrangements should be designed to generate much greater local employment than at present.

Further investigations are required in most developing countries to determine just where the margins of advantage really are as between labour-intensity and capital-intensity in promoting development. For some establishments (for example, industrial firms, major public works) the economic advantage, measured by the cost of the desired quality of the final product, may prove to be with the use of large units of plant, equipment, and specialized organization, requiring relatively few employees compared with capital invested. But greater intimacy with the aptitudes and the modest accomplishments of peasant farm families and small-scale, low-capital crafts and industries will reveal, almost certainly, a wider range of possibilities for creating jobs at no great further expense. In many instances it will be discovered that an increasing number of productive jobs and rising output are more harmonious than is commonly supposed. In any case, and as a last resort, one-half of 1 per cent less in the growth of national economic output—resulting from the spreading of available capital more widely and involving even further jobs in the immediate future—may prove a small price to pay for social stability in the short term and a vital advantage to society and the economy in the long term.

Any one economy has not one environment, but many. Planning for substantially more employment along with rising output, and getting these plans into action—within the constraints set by scarce national and local resources—is a difficult, continuing exercise that requires intimate knowledge of people's responses to various familiar and new incentives.

Transforming the rural areas (where, in most developing countries, from 60 to 90 per cent of the people live) must take high priority. Patterns of land ownership and tenure, of crops grown, marketing arrangements and transport systems, however, are so varied among different parts of the same country (as well as among countries) that it is obviously wrong to characterize the rural situation as if it were everywhere the same. Strategies for expanding and diversifying agricultural production include the provision of seeds, fertilizer, credit, extension assistance, and some assurance on prices of products. The aim of policies would be to enable agriculture to pay better dividends to more farm families. This would be achieved by raising output per acre while retaining relatively labour-intensive techniques, where this proves to be economically desirable. (The relation of the size of farm holding to output and employment is a topic largely unexplored in most countries.)

When farm families earn greater returns, the higher money circulation in villages creates more jobs off the farm: in trading, transport, and on building sites. Small-scale industrialists (processing farm products or working with wood, metal, cloth, leather) have more scope to meet consumer demand. Efforts should be made also to foster new entrepreneurs through help to the indigenous apprentice system by which young people learn from established master traders, artisans, and small-scale industrialists. And of salient importance: new major industries need to be set up in rural towns or in newly-created rural industrial centres.

These policies will have to ensure that farm incomes are not depressed in the process of expanding output of farm products, that labour is used to the full through the application of low-cost but progressive technologies, that self-help in creating community amenities is encouraged, and that capital is saved in order to promote a multiplicity of projects.

The bias by which cities have shared disproportionately in expenditure for infrastructure will need to be removed. Public works in the countryside will have to be stepped up on a wide scale: secondary roads, clean water supplies, rural markets, health clinics, schools, meeting halls. Components of self-help will vary according to the situation. In some cases, rural people would undertake the projects entirely themselves, with some help in planning and perhaps with supplementary finance and materials provided by central or local government; labour would be voluntary, making use of slack periods during the farming year. In other cases, the work would be undertaken in more direct alliance with government, perhaps with those who are unemployed providing labour and being paid directly by government. Such projects would require greater administrative activity and more money, but would add to the demand for food and other local products.

So long as the more exciting economic and social activities are clustered exclusively in the cities, young school leavers will continue to trek to the cities and stay away from their home areas as long as they possibly can. Forbidding them to migrate from their villages to the cities, perhaps by use of a city permit system, is ultimately futile and, assuredly, no effective substitute for well-administered rural development. When opportunities for rural jobs are raised, young people should be told about them through vocational guidance in schools and through the use of mass media (radio diffusion and

transistor sets, for example, are now increasingly available in villages).

Where there are obstacles to migration based on ethnic, political, or religious differences, incentives to mobility of labour are required; widely circulated information about job opportunities should be made available and also, in some cases, practical assurances of personal safety and job security. Similarly, restrictions on individual opportunity due to caste or class division will have to be removed.

Relative prices throughout the economy, for factors of production and commodities alike, will need to reflect more accurately the objectives of national production of goods and services. Central among these prices are those for human labour; the real value of industrial wages will need to be kept in closer correspondence with rewards received elsewhere and particularly with the incomes of the rural community.

The economies of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America differ considerably from one another and so too do the extent and the causes of youth unemployment. While some broad principles of economic reform have been outlined here (and, indeed, these represent the basis for action in many of today's developing countries), it is only through analysis of specific national situations that detailed policies, likely to be successful, can be designed to generate substantially more employment.

8. Make formal education more relevant

A solution to the problem of unemployment among educated youth that is often put forward is to restrain the rate of expansion of educational opportunities. The reasoning goes that, if more and more school leavers are migrating to the cities and towns and remain unemployed, then facilities for primary education (in particular) should be cut back or at least not expanded to match the growing school-age population. The money saved by not investing in primary education can then be used for general economic development or for projects providing employment for the fewer school leavers.

This is a logical and compelling view. But it cannot be sustained in the climate of today. Cutting back education means widening the already existing inequalities in societies where education has for a generation or so provided a means for progression by merit rather than by status at birth. The desire for education has already spread among

families in rural areas as well as cities. Another benefit of high proportions of children completing primary schooling is the resulting greater mobility of labour. The competition for available jobs can be a spur to the economy, provided, of course, that procedures for selecting merit are given a chance to work.

Cutting back primary education means reducing the number of teachers and leaving many without jobs. While no one would suggest that education should be extended in order to create jobs for teachers, the place of education systems in most developing countries as major employers of educated young people must be kept in mind. Where primary education cannot be expanded because of lack of finance from the central government, alternative ways of financing (including direct contributions from local communities) should be thoroughly explored. And in line with established principles of educational planning, economies throughout the whole system of formal education need to be exacted. For example, the high cost of large numbers of early drop-outs could be reduced.

Perhaps the solution most universally argued is the one advocating vocational subjects for primary schools. This suggests that, if farming were effectively taught, school leavers would become farmers and not drift to towns and cities. In practice, this has never been successful. Pupils who complete the primary course should be able to read and write fluently in their own and in the national language, to do a certain amount of arithmetic, to understand enough science and history to interpret the world around them, and to learn sufficient civics to be aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. This does not make pupils into farmers or carpenters or nuclear scientists; it is basic to all these careers. Education is meant not only to adapt pupils to their society, but also to equip them to alter it. And it may well be that widespread primary schooling provides the foundation for modernizing agriculture—not by trying to teach pupils to become farmers, but by giving them the tools of literacy and the confidence to try new techniques.

Radical curriculum reforms in many countries may well be necessary to relate schools more closely to community and national life. Often, subject-content has been developed in a foreign country very different in its cultural and economic background and, not only that, it is drastically out of date. In these cases, obviously, new textbooks and teaching materials are needed. Language lessons should be developed from national life and literature; mathematics might

include simple accounts using typical farm and market examples; science studies would start by analysing elements in the familiar environment; geography and history would begin with reference to the local and national scene. Much more participation in indigenous culture could be encouraged through music, dance, art, folklore. And with these changes in subject-matter, methods of instruction must be improved. The rigid authoritarian manner still used in so many schools to scare children into rote learning has its counterparts in nineteenth-century Europe and America, but has little justification for being continued in any part of the world today. When these reforms are brought about (and in many developing countries the beginning steps have been taken), then primary schools will become much more relevant and vital to the life of local communities—and of the nation.

Debates have also taken place on the need for changes in the curriculum of secondary schools. The central issue is whether employability of many secondary-school leavers would be heightened if more of them were qualified in specific skills rather than being prepared solely through an academic course geared for university entrance. Whatever validity there may be in this view for a particular country, much will depend on whether the jobs exist and whether the wages proposed are related to the expensive education they have received.

Allied to this is another issue—the necessity to merge the skills derived from classroom experience with the realities of the economy. For instance, what is the relation between technical and vocational education and on-the-job training given by public and private establishments? A step-up in technical and vocational education is undoubtedly needed for most economies, but careful attention should be given to what types of training can be done on the job (paid for by industries) and what types need the greater theoretical background given in technical institutes.

A few countries are finding that their university students have to settle for work inconsistent with their specialized training. Difficulties of this kind can be adjusted, and there is some prospect that they will be lessened as manpower planning techniques become more refined and thus better able to assist the design of enrolments in different departments—not only as between the arts and sciences but also within these broad groupings.

Yet, whatever alterations are set in motion in the quantity and quality of formal education at the primary, secondary, and university levels to accord more accurately with the requirements of the changing

society and economy, time is required for them to take place. And there is no sense in talking about providing education that is job-creating and the basis for innovation unless parallel efforts are made to reform the economy.

9. Strengthen out-of-school education

An area relatively neglected by educational planners has been non-formal or out-of-school education—learning activities going on outside schools and universities.[1] These include programmes of literacy for young people who have had little or no formal schooling; apprenticeships and other forms of on-the-job training; continuing education for those with professional qualifications; extension programmes to assist youth involved in farming or within small-scale industries; and a wide range of educative services designed to encourage community improvement.

What types of out-of-school training activities can provide young people, who would otherwise be unemployed, with skills to enable them to do specialized jobs? Or create their own jobs? What part can such education take in intensifying the drive for rural improvement? How can group activities, such as youth clubs and young farmers' clubs, be spread more widely and given greater meaning for generating useful employment?

As discussed in the previous section, a main principle in reforming the economy to create employment is the substitution of labour for capital in new development wherever this is technically and economically feasible. So it becomes necessary to work with the smaller economic units in the countryside and in the city, to encourage family farms and small-scale industries, helping them to introduce low-cost, progressive technologies and innovations of management. Such assistance requires a high component of on-the-job training and other types of out-of-school education.

It is clear that farmers, artisans, and small-scale industrialists cannot teach their children and apprentices practical skills which they do not themselves possess. Any assistance, therefore, to raise the technical performance of adults—through agricultural extension, through technical assistance given by visitation or through short

[1] A detailed summary of such activities is given in the Appendix.

courses—will eventually help these young learners. This is an indirect means of helping youth; to raise the skills of fathers and masters (and to make their work more profitable) is to help sons and apprentices; to help women in their duties in farm or market work means helping daughters and others working with them. Added to this can be such direct means as short courses for young men in particular aspects of farm work or for young women in poultry-keeping or sewing.

Similarly, experiments in introducing 'functional literacy' for adults—with the objective of combining instruction in literacy and help in heightening productivity in particular lines of work—can also have meaning for unschooled youth, either by their participation later as adults or by extending the programme to younger people.

Vocational training for rural school leavers must necessarily differ from that of unschooled youth. Because of six to ten or more years in the classroom and of aspirations linked with acquiring literacy, school leavers have, in some measure, lost the continuity of rural life. They may not have learned the traditional skills which the unschooled young people in their age group are likely to have mastered through constant practice. In any case, school leavers want to apply themselves to something (however vague in their minds) more modern. Although they may be well aware that wage-paid jobs are scarce in the cities, they do not see any models for building a life's work in their home areas. The problem of helping rural school leavers, then, is not only to provide vocational training but also to have an associated plan to help get them established in rural occupations. Eventually, patterns will emerge which school leavers will recognize as the steps for successful rural careers.

Where vocational training has a known outcome with wage-paid jobs in modern rural establishments, there has been considerable success. On completing their courses, the trainees become tractor drivers, mechanics, or technicians on large plantations or in modern rural industries processing farm products. But where training is given without being tied to specific jobs, with the intention that trainees shall find opportunities within traditional family farming and other small-scale rural enterprises, there has been only limited success.

Vocational-training programmes of educated youth for rural occupations may be of two kinds. (1) A course of instruction in farm or technical work for one or two years, with or without direct help for settlement into farm or artisan work later. Frequently the course

begins some years after the trainee has finished his formal schooling and has gained sufficient maturity and practical experience. Variations occur in the combinations of classroom theory and actual work at farm operations or in technical jobs. (2) On-the-job training either on farms or in workshops, supplemented by assistance from extension workers through regular visits or by short courses of a few weeks' duration on specific production or marketing processes.

Where rural school leavers are being trained to become progressive farmers—perhaps on their family land—agricultural extension officers encourage them, individually or in groups, to overcome the obstacles they meet in trying to put improved methods into operation. Small amounts of credit (planting materials, fertilizer, insecticides) are provided as well as advice on techniques. Special groups, such as young farmers' clubs, often provide the basis for this regular assistance. With the help of film strips, instruction is given on improved planting methods or the care of new strains of rice or maize. Examples show that in some developing countries much can be accomplished under existing land tenure arrangements. In parts of Asia, but particularly in Latin America, reforms in land tenure are a prerequisite to the emergence of greater numbers of modern young farmers.

Social and cultural youth programmes should be considered a form of nonformal or out-of-school education with meaning for youth employment. Some of these group activities derive from traditional social organization, such as a dance group formed by a particular age-set of young women to perform at local festivals. Others are contemporary modifications of traditional associations, for example, social clubs among city youth based on extended family or ethnic relationships. Still others are comparatively modern in origin and purpose, perhaps related to schools or churches or mosques. Some have international or regional affiliations.

The objectives of these associations vary widely, but they have certain effects in common: they foster a feeling of belonging to a group, give a sense of direction and purpose, provide experience for young people in organizing their own activities, develop discipline and a heightened sense of self-respect. Some clubs encourage the improvement of domestic skills for young women, such as home-making, child care, sewing, knowledge of hygiene and nutrition; of occupational skills for young men, as do young farmers' and young fishermen's clubs; of abilities in sports, as do swimming or football groups.

All these clubs for youth are important and need further emphasis, particularly in cities where so many young people are displaced from their home communities, and also in rural areas where traditional forms of recreation and association have disappeared and no new forms have taken their place. They are significant for boys and girls in their early teens (from 13 to 15) as well as for those above that age. Those organizations which are relatively low-cost may need encouragement to become self-perpetuating and self-multiplying. They are worth extra administrative attention from voluntary organizations and from governments.

10. National youth service programmes

Largely a phenomenon of the 1960s, these special training and work programmes have come into being as experimental measures in time of national urgency, and represent a distinct break with the customary methods used for meeting requirements of youth for civic education and specialized training. They are administered separately from systems of formal education. They do not have much in common with the familiar boys' and girls' clubs. Most of these national youth service programmes provide facilities whereby trainees can make a disciplined contribution to national development through work projects which may take a few months or stretch over a period of one or even two years. In some, the service to the community is through leadership, chiefly in rural areas, after a period devoted mainly to training. Almost all the programmes are rural-oriented. A few only cater for young women.

Why are these special programmes considered necessary? One commanding reason is the existence of jobless youth, particularly school leavers. Another related reason is dissatisfaction with the capacity of ordinary classroom education to produce well-disciplined youth, devoted to the nation's cause, who can demonstrate a new attitude in work and in society. Again, where university students are involved, it is considered that those who receive higher education, paid for largely by the masses of the people, should in turn learn at first hand, through some form of community service, the nation's problems of illiteracy, poor health, and lack of economic development.

The following explanations were given in response to questions at a meeting of national youth service programmes held in Denmark

in 1968 by the United Nations and the International Labour Office.

Ceylon: 'The sheer magnitude of unemployment among youth justifies the need to create additional employment opportunities to contain the problem until such time as a long-term solution can be effected through development plans.'

Guyana: 'About 20 per cent of the working force is unemployed; school leavers, who represent a high proportion of the jobless, are out-competed in the employment market by adults with families; the result is the creation of "social rebels" and delinquency.'

Zambia: 'There is need for an agrarian revolution in Zambia, and the youth service graduates can help to spearhead such a revolution. The rate at which our youth can be absorbed into the agrarian society depends on the ability of the rural economy to produce a monetary return equivalent to wage-earning in urban areas. We still have a problem of how to take a young man whose contact with urban life has inflated his desire for the things that only money can buy, and re-integrate him into an agrarian society which still lives at a depressed economic level not far above subsistence.'

The Agricultural Development Corps in Ceylon, the *Bharat Yuvak Samaj* in India and the Zambian Youth Service are among the many services dealing with general farming activities. Those having specific arrangements for agricultural settlement include, for example, *Action de renovation rurale* of the Congo (Brazzaville), the Malawi Young Pioneers, and the Agrarian Youth Movement of Uruguay. Training for both farm and non-farm activities in rural areas is provided by, among others, the National Youth Service of Kenya, the Liberian National Youth Organization, the work camps in Thailand, and the Training Production Programmes in Tunisia.

Hong Kong and Singapore have no large rural peasantry and their government and voluntary agency services are therefore mainly for city youth. They are significant exceptions to the general rule that youth service programmes have a rural bias. Highly educated young people take part in the Ethiopian University Service and in India's Labour and Social Service Camps.

At least ten Latin-American countries use their armies, in which young men do specified terms of national service, to tackle community

construction projects. The National Cadet Corps in India is part of a programme of military service which includes civil employment and related training. Iran has three revolutionary corps (education, health, development) in which highly-trained servicemen are moved to the countryside to work with peasants on their more pressing local problems. India, understandably, has many different approaches by government and voluntary organizations towards meeting requirements for community service and jobs for young people.

For developing countries as a whole, the total number of young people in national services such as these is not considerable. Leaving aside the university students' service, what is the validity of helping limited numbers at considerable cost in public funds within training-service or training-service-settlement programmes? One answer is that young people engaged in these services later become demonstrators or initiators; they provide leadership in their home communities; they set examples which make easier the follow-up policies designed to help others. The vast numbers of young people without the benefits of such training will then have a set of models of what they can aim for.

A great difficulty, however, in general statements about national youth service programmes is their diversity. A meaningful typology would be difficult to achieve and probably of no significance when completed. Differences exist in age and education on entry; in the length of education or training, and service periods; in methods of civic education and training; in the style of community service; in arrangements (if any) for settlement later.

Also, too little time has passed to enable realistic assessments to be made. Many of these programmes were hastily set up in emergency conditions to help meet the problems created by unemployment among school leavers and the exceptional flow of rural young people to the cities. Because of the urgency, the plans often started off on a large scale with no time taken for pilot experiments.

On economic grounds, many of these programmes are open to criticism for their high public cost and their diversion of scarce capital and administrative talent from more urgent development tasks. From the point of view of the youth concerned, there is difficulty in offering the specialization and the rewards for work done which help to spur self-improvement. Also, certain questions are still open: what happens to these young people once their courses of training and work have finished? Have the conditions of these camps or special

schools made them better able to meet the competition of the job market? Are those from rural families more or less willing to undertake farming or other work in rural areas? Only after some of the answers are known can the effectiveness of these programmes be realistically evaluated. Against these economic appraisals should be weighed the less measurable social gains of improved personal discipline and attitudes towards society and of practical expressions of patriotism.

However much is known about the benefits, or hoped-for benefits, of national youth service programmes, these private and social benefits should now be related to the costs of alternative ways of achieving the same, or better, results.

11. A wider role for educational planners

It is evident that reforms within formal education alone cannot solve the problem of unemployed youth. Even if imaginative changes are made in methods of instruction and content of courses at varying levels of education, young people will still eventually confront the harsh realities of the employment market. Unless more farm, artisan, and professional jobs are generated in the rural areas and unless the rest of the economy is able to absorb more educated youth, the numbers of unemployed will continue to rise. Of first priority, then, are significant—even drastic—modifications in the functioning of economies.

Development policies for the 1970s in poorer nations will undoubtedly emphasize the provision of jobs for many more people. Education, as an integral part of the processes of social and economic development, will have its important place in this new emphasis. In the efforts to mesh education more closely with the newer economic strategies, educational planners will take on a wider role.

Adjustments within formal education will be necessary to accord with national objectives. Improvements in teaching, for example, could enhance the spirit of initiative and adventure and thus the employability of youth as they address themselves to the world of work. The search for economies in public and private expenditures on education, while maintaining or improving quality, must be a continuing exercise in every nation.

The less charted area, to which educational planners must now give greater concentration, lies beyond schools and universities.

It is the field of out-of-school education for youth which substitutes for or extends formal classroom learning. While attention has been given by governments, voluntary agencies and United Nations specialized agencies to specific types of out-of-school learning processes, little attempt has been made to look at out-of-school education as a whole—to discern its dynamics in meeting the needs of changing societies, to see its complementary links with formal education at all levels, and to bring it within a comprehensive design of educational planning for the nation. Analysis along these lines would result in a firmer understanding of the relations among formal education, specialized training, and on-the-job experience. It would help, also, in aligning classroom learning with the needs of the employment market of the future.

Education has multiple functions to perform: passing on cultural values, developing critical minds, training specialized skills. But the promise of education cannot be fulfilled if school leavers and university graduates become dissatisfied, disillusioned, abject because they cannot put their abilities to work.

The conspicuous misfortune of economic performances in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America during the 1960s has been the failure to provide adequate employment opportunities. Although strenuous efforts are being made, in most countries the problem cannot be fully solved during the 1970s. Educational planners can contribute by reducing the discontinuities between education and the growing economies.

Appendix

Out-of-school education for youth

I. Preparation for occupations

a. Courses for those with little or no formal schooling (literacy and numeracy, civic, and vocational education).
b. Courses which extend general or pre-vocational schooling (post-primary or post-secondary instruction in secretarial schools and technical workshops; military technical training; pre-work training provided by commercial firms or voluntary organizations; correspondence courses).

II. On-the-job training

a. Apprenticeship training in low- or intermediate-productivity enterprises (in crafts and small businesses located in towns and cities, such as carpentry, mechanics, tailoring, building trades, printing).
b. Apprenticeship training in high-productivity enterprises (in agriculture, industry, and services, run by governments or private concerns).
c. Courses for junior workers, usually short-term, which extend pre-vocational education and/or apprentice training.

III. Education for community improvement

a. Group activities out of school (youth clubs, young farmers' clubs, apprentice guilds—which, in addition to social objectives, promote leadership and awareness of civic responsibility and may also be aimed towards vocational improvement).
b. National youth service programmes (providing general, civic, or technical education while allowing for organized, disciplined contributions by youth to national development through community services, chiefly in rural areas; for example, Ceylon, Agricultural Development Corps; Guyana, Youth Corps; India, National Cadet Corps; Kenya, National Youth Service; Malawi, Young Pioneers).
c. Educative services to encourage self-help for communities (provided by governments or voluntary organizations working through central village authorities or groups based on kinship, religious affiliation, or occupations; includes training in planning and execution of projects, such as market stalls, community halls, access roads, maternity homes and clinics).

Suggestions for further reading

These items cover, in much more detail, some of the issues discussed in this bo[illegible]let.

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E. STALEY, *Planning occupational education and training for development.* New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1970.

IIEP book list

The following books, published by Unesco/IIEP, are obtainable from the Institute or from Unesco and its national distributors throughout the world:

Educational development in Africa (1969. Three volumes, containing eleven African research monographs)

Educational planning: a bibliography (1964)

Educational planning: a directory of training and research institutions (1968)

Educational planning in the USSR (1968)

Fundamentals of educational planning (full list at front of this volume)

Manpower aspects of educational planning (1968)

Methodologies of educational planning for developing countries by J. D. Chesswas (1968)

Monographies africaines (five titles, in French only: list available on request)

New educational media in action: case studies for planners (1967. Three volumes)

The new media: memo to educational planners by W. Schramm, P. H. Coombs, F. Kahnert, J. Lyle (1967. A report including analytical conclusions based on the above three volumes of case studies)

Problems and strategies of educational planning: lessons from Latin America (1965)

Qualitative aspects of educational planning (1969)

Research for educational planning: notes on emergent needs by William J. Platt (1970)

The following books, produced in but not published by the Institute, are obtainable through normal bookselling channels:

Quantitative methods of educational planning by Héctor Correa
Published by International Textbook Co., Scranton, Pa., 1969

The world educational crisis: a systems analysis by Philip H. Coombs
Published by Oxford University Press, New York, London and Toronto, 1968

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